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ABSTRACT

Subjective culture is a cultural group's characteristic way of perceiving its social environment. An important aspect of a social environment are the jobs available for the consideration of an individual. The present study is an exploratory study directed at the examination of job perceptions among a group of white and black adolescents and the hardcore unemployed. This study had two main goals: (a) instrument development, and (b) the gathering of data on subjective culture. To reach these goals it was desirable that as many disparate samples as possible should be used. It was possible to obtain four geographically and demographically distinct samples: (1) white female college students; (2) black working-class and lower-class high school boys from the Chicago Heights area; (3) white high school boys, working-class and lower-class, and some Spanish-speaking adults from Chicago Heights; and, (4) black adult subjects classified as "hardcore unemployed," from St. Louis, Missouri. The purpose of using these samples was to be able to generalize to that situation in which black males with vocational problems try to become integrated in a highly heterogeneous white establishment. White females were used because the investigators felt that they are the best examples of carriers of white middle-class culture, and thus would provide an "extreme-groups" comparison to the black sample. (Author/JM)

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Illinois Studies of the Economically Disadvantaged

JOB PERCEPTIONS AMONG BLACK AND WHITE ADOLESCENTS AND THE HARDCORE UNEMPLOYED

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Preface

This report is part of a series which will be concerned with the economically disadvantaged. We plan to test the assumption that economic disadvantages create characteristic ways of perceiving and thinking about the social environment. We call such characteristic perceptions the "subjective culture" of a particular group. We expect to find characteristic differences in the subjective cultures of blacks and whites who differ in level of economic advantage. We suspect that such differences in subjective culture lead to major barriers in communication between an employee and his supervisor, his fellow employees and his subordinates. Our plan is to determine the differences in subjective culture by employing a battery of newly developed procedures, tailormade to detect cultural differences; we then plan to incorporate this information in specially designed training programs; finally, we hope to test the effectiveness of these training programs by examining the effects of training on measures of occupational stability.

The present report is the third of four reports that examine the characteristic ways of perceiving the social environment of economically disadvantaged white and black young males and hardcore unemployed blacks. Our comparison group consists of college girls. Our major concern here is to get at the contrast that black and white comparisons are likely to provide. Thus, we look only at differences in which the white boys and girls agree on the one hand, and the two black samples agree with each other, on the other hand. It should be stressed here that our sampling has been deliberately most selective: our blacks are not ordinary blacks, but black males with vocational problems; our whites are most heterogeneous. We want to generalize to that situation in which black males with vocational problems try to become integrated in a highly heterogeneous white establishment.

This report is concerned with job perceptions. The next report will deal with the perceptions of the connections between what one does and what one gets from his social environment. Other reports which will come in about a year will explore the generality and implications of our findings for cross-cultural training and for intercultural harmony.

Harry C. Triandis

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Subjective culture is a cultural group's characteristic way of perceiving its social environment. An important aspect of a social environment are the jobs available for the consideration of an individual. Previous studies of job perception (e.g., Triandis, 1960) have shown both similarities and differences in job perception among subgroups of the population. Specifically, it was found that both managers and workers utilized the same attributes (a) objective job evaluation (requires experience, good, important, professional, creative, requires much education and training), (b) white collar (indoors, soft, clean, office work, light, sitting), (c) variable (changeable, new, executive, creative), (d) level (high position, steady, high pay, difficult, doing many things) and (e) subjective job evaluation (desirable, good, important, responsible, alert, active, ingenious, creative, interesting and challenging) when they perceive jobs. At the same time, some differences between the two samples were observed. For example, the managers considered job complexity, interest and challenge as greater "goods" than did the workers.

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[1]The research reported here was supported by the Social and Rehabilitation Services of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Research Grant No. 12-P-55175/5-02. We are deeply grateful to Michael Ross and Kenneth Weaver who supervised data collection in two of our samples. They were assisted by Chet Brown, Henry F. Davis, William Gardner, Caleb Johnson, Jr., Don Leach, Allen Long, Herman Standberry and Joseph Takash. We also wish to thank James Savage for his critical comments of an earlier version of this report.

The present paper is an exploratory study directed at the examination of job perceptions among a group of whate and black adolescents and the hardcore unemployed. The study was undertaken with the expectation that some of the dimensions found in the previous study by Triandis will re-appear in the present study, but also that much will be learned about the unique ways of job perception of these particularly interesting samples within subcultures of the United States. We have employed a meta-theoretical posture described by Triandis and Malpass (1970) which is in the tradition of Brunswickian probabilistic functionalism, which essentially demands that studies of perception provide for an adequate representation of the events that occur naturally in human environments. The basic notion is to have an open mind and sample properly, and observe both similarities and differences in perception among various kinds of subjects, much as a naturalist examines his subject matter.

Method

Subject Population

This study had two main goals (a) instrument development and (b) the gathering of data on subjective culture--that is, the typical ways in which the samples tested perceive their social environment. To reach these goals it was desirable that as many disparate samples as possible should be used. This heterogeneity is meant to insure the external validity of the subjective culture data and to provide intersubject variance for instrument development.

It was possible to obtain four geographically and demographically distinct samples:

(1) White female college students, who filled out the questionnaires as part of a course requirement in an introductory psychology course. (White females were used because the investigators felt that they are the best

examples of carriers of white middle-class culture, and thus would provide an "extreme-groups" comparison to the black samples.)

(2) Black working-class and lower-class high school boys from the Chicago Heights area (a southern suburb of Chicago).

(3) White high school boys, working-class and lower-class, and some Spanish-speaking adult males from Chicago Heights.

(4) Black adult subjects classified as "hardcore unemployed," from St. Louis, Missouri.

No attempt was made to have the same person respond to all the questionnaires. A major reason for this was that the questionnaires required as much as 15 hours of testing time (for some subjects). Thus, for each sample we established a pool of subjects out of which we drew the subjects that answered each particular questionnaire.

The white girls were approximately 19 years old, practically all of them unmarried, most of them from various parts of Illinois, including farms and other rural areas, with family backgrounds characteristic of the middle class. The pool from which we drew had 83 girls.

The white boys were on the average a year younger than the white girls. A pool of 43 young men, in their late teens or early twenties, was established from among those who were in a pre-vocational work adjustment training program at a high school in the outskirts of Chicago, Illinois. The high school considered these men socially maladjusted, but their I.Q's were in the normal or high range. The maladjustment may have been related to factors such as cultural deprivation, educational retardation, inadequate school opportunities, or parental mobility which did not allow the young men to stay in school for sufficiently long periods of time. One quarter to one-third of these subjects were expected by school authorities to be hardcore

unemployed, unless some drastic retraining was made available to them. As a result they were in the Man Power Development Training Program of their high school, learning skills such as welding, auto mechanics, and machine operation. Another quarter was referred to the Illinois Division of Vocational Rehabilitation, because of "adjustment problems." Finally, another quarter consisted of Spanish Americans who had language and cultural adjustment difficulties. They were in the training programs in order to acquire skills which would lead to employment.

The black high school subjects were drawn from a pool of 60 males, who were in the same program at the same high school as the white boys described in the previous paragraph. Their ages ranged from 15-21, with a mean of about 16 and a half. About 20 of the 60 responded to five of the six questionnaires. Thus, there is a tendency for the subjects with better working habits (in the sense that they were willing and able to return several times to the test sessions) to be over-represented in this sample. The subjects were typical of the blacks found in "suburban ghettoes," such as one finds in the outskirts of large cities. Some of their parents were middle-class, but most came from homes in which the mother was the major income-maker, and where the income levels were very low. The students were classified as maladjusted because of gambling, drinking, sexual problems or drug abuse. Most of these subjects had police records. All were in the normal I. Q. range, and some even aspired to go to college. The training they received in the special programs was identical to that of the white boys described in the previous paragraph.

The black hardcore came from a pool of males, from the inner city in St. Louis, Missouri. They were on the average 26 years old, had a history of unemployment, drug abuse, and most of them had police records.

Table 1 presents further biographical details of the subject population. The table shows that Function 1 discriminated the white girls from the hardcore blacks, and was based on education, rural-urban background and marital status. The second function contrasted the two high school samples from the other two samples, and was primarily reflecting differences in age and marital status. Thus, in addition to the obvious differences in sex and race, the samples differ in education, urban-rural background, marital status and age. These differences must be kept in mind when comparing the samples. The design of this study specified data collection from 20 college girls and 40 of each of the other groups, but due to problems in obtaining subjects, the actual N's are somewhat smaller. N's used in the analyses are reported in the "Results" section.

Questionnaire Development

The investigators developed a list of jobs which reflected a wide range of status and skill levels. This list was refined through discussion with a number of consultants; these included experts in interracial relations, black psychologists and five black students from ghetto backgrounds attending the University under the Special Educational Opportunities Program (SEOP). (The SEOP students were hired to consult on many phases of the research, as will be seen below.) Modifications suggested by these consultants were made in the list until 27 job stimuli, felt by all to be important, were obtained.

Characteristics of these jobs and the persons who hold them were elicited from members of the populations defined above. Open-ended elicitation questionnaires were prepared and the subjects were asked to write three job or job-incumbent characteristics for each stimulus.[2] The instructions to

[2]The St. Louis population is an exception to this. A group of drug addicts at a Narcotics Rehabilitation Center (NASCO, Inc.) participated in a group discussion of each stimulus person, which was tape recorded and later transcribed.

Table 1

Discriminant Analysis on Biographical Data by Subject Group

Group Means on Original Variables

Group	Age	Marital Status	Life in Town	Where Lived	Grade in School	Future Plans	Family Income	Social Class
White college girls	18.95	.05	.09	2.14	3.86	2.32	4.32	2.86
White high school & Spanish	16.32	.05	.41	1.45	2.00	1.50	3.64	2.41
Black high school students	16.33	0.00	.53	1.45	2.00	1.48	3.05	2.53
Black hardcore	27.60	.60	.57	1.71	1.77	.91	2.77	2.23

Scaled Vectors of Discriminant Functions

Variable	Function 1	Function 2
Age	1.27	3.51
Marital Status	2.31	2.56
Life in town	2.34	-.95
Where lived	.83	-.25
Grade in school	-3.33	3.84
Future plans	-1.19	-.16
Family income	-.21	-1.30
Social class	-.22	.50
% of Variance	72.39	26.27

Group Means on Discriminant Functions

Group	Function 1	Function 2
White college girls	-1.77	3.05
White high school & Spanish students	-.66	1.83
Black high school students	-.63	1.84
Black hardcore	.29	2.88

Overall F ratio = 13.78 (df = 24, 314) $p < .01$

subjects were "translated" by the five SEOP students into "Black English" (language usually used in the ghetto) and back into "standard" English to insure that they would be understood by all subjects. This "decentering" (Werner & Campbell, 1970) procedure is used in cross-cultural research, and allows for the development of translation equivalent versions of a written text.

The method begins with a text in language A, which is translated into language B. A different group of bilinguals translates B back to A', and a comparison between A and A' leads to a modification of A, to become simpler and more easily translatable into B. The new version of A, which might be designated as A'', is then translated into B, and the new version of B' is back translated into A'''. When changes have been made in such a way as to reclaim the original text, e.g., A''' = A'''', the two versions A''' and B''' are used in the research project. In ourscase, however, it was decided to utilize a decentered version in standard English, on the grounds that (a) our subjects did understand standard English, and (b) black English is an oral language, and the presentation of a questionnaire in black English would look "phony" to our black subjects. The major advantage of the decentered version in standard English is that it contains mostly words that are familiar to ghetto blacks, and a style which is sufficiently simple to permit translation into black ways of encoding reality. At the same time, the decentered version is perfectly suitable for use with middle-class subjects, so that all subjects did respond to the same questionnaire.

Questionnaire responses were tabulated for each population. The 25 most frequent responses across the four samples were selected for inclusion in the final questionnaire. These items roughly correspond to the five factors reported by Triandis (1960), but the degree of actual correspondence

will be empirically determined. This list of characteristics was subjected to decentering in order to prevent any misunderstanding by less educated populations.

Procedure

Because the questionnaire administrators had reported some difficulty in reading the instructions on the part of the non-college samples, orally administered instructions were prepared. These instructions were decentered in the same manner as the elicitation instructions. Subjects were asked to write a number from 0 to 9 in the space next to each word or phrase under a given job stimulus, corresponding to the likelihood that the job or a person holding it would have that characteristic. Each number was labelled with a descriptive word or phrase. The scale from 0 to 9 and the corresponding labels were reproduced at the bottom of each page. A single job stimulus appeared on a page and the pages themselves were assembled in three different random orders. Within a page, the 25 items appeared in an invariant order. A biographical data sheet, asking the subject's age, marital status, education, family income, and social class identification, was included in every questionnaire. A "practice sheet," described below, was administered to each subject before he responded to the actual instrument.

As reported in earlier papers, the 0 to 9 scale format was selected to partially control response bias and/or careless responding on the subject's part. It was felt that having the subject select and write a number next to each alternative would force increased attention to the task, as opposed to simply asking for check marks on a graphic scale.

The "practice sheet" for each task served two purposes. It familiarized the subject with the task, and allowed questionnaire administrators to check

the subject's comprehension of the rating task. The practice sheets consisted of simplified versions of the rating task with obvious answers. Questionnaire administrators received a sheet with criteria for answering. If a subject's answers did not correspond to the criteria, the administrator questionned him as to why he had answered in that way. If the subject's answer showed that he understood the task, but had different ideas about the ratings than the criteria would indicate, he was allowed to continue. If he could not explain his ratings, and the administrator's repeated instructions could not produce understanding, the subject was excused. Approximately 10% of the black samples were excused.

Results

Tucker's (1966) three-mode factor analysis was chosen as the most appropriate analytic method. The three "modes" were, of course, jobs, job characteristics, and individuals (N=89, due to subject attrition and incomplete questionnaires). Two important aspects of this procedure should be mentioned: (1) the variance in cell modes is considered common variance, i.e., no unique or specific factors are specified; (2) all cross-product matrices were found in full; no approximations were used.[3]

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[3]Because the three-mode analysis is rather complex, space limitations prevent a complete exposition of the technique here. The reader is referred to Levin (1968) for a clear explanation of the logic of the method, and to Tucker (1966) for a technical reference which should allow the interested investigator to perform his own three-mode analyses.

Rotation procedures were based on the "raw" varimax criterion (Harman, 1968) and the Harris-Kaiser (1964) method, which generally results in oblique solutions with respect to the principal components. (This obliqueness is reflected in the "factor intercorrelation matrices" presented in the Results section; actual Pearson r's between the factors, based on subjects' factor scores, are generally much lower.) The final rotation on the core matrix was performed as outlined in Tucker (1966).

The cross-products matrix was chosen for the analysis because it allows for mean differences in response magnitude to be reflected in the results of the analyses. These mean differences were of interest to the investigators in interpreting between-groups differences in perception.

Table 2 presents the rotated factor matrix for job stimuli; Table 3 presents the loadings of each descriptive item on the item factors. These may be interpreted in the same manner as any other principal-component solution. Table 4 presents the three-mode "core matrix," showing the interrelationships of the jobs, job characteristics and subject factors.

The core matrix may be interpreted as follows: A subject factor represents an "idealized individual"--that is, an abstract person who loads maximally on the first subject factor and 0 on all others. Each idealized individual is represented by a matrix, the rows of which correspond to stimulus factors, and the columns of which represent item factors. The numbers in the matrix show how that "idealized individual" responds to each stimulus factor in terms of each item factor. A high number (relative to the others in that row) means that that "idealized person" sees stimuli loading on that factor as high in the quality represented by that item factor.

Table 5 shows how each of our demographically distinct samples scores in relation to the idealized individuals. A discriminant analysis was performed using the factor loadings on the subject factors (idealized individuals) as dependent variables. The results (see Table 5) show how each subset of the subject samples loads on each subject factor, and thus which point of view is characteristic of that sample.

The following presents the investigators' interpretation of the data.

Five job stimulus factors were obtained. They were jobs characterized by:

1. Variable work
2. Cold interpersonal relations
3. Task vs. people orientation
4. Invariable conditions (routinized)
5. Skilled blue-collar work.

Table 2

Job Stimulus Factors

Job Stimuli	Variable Work	Cold Interpersonal Relations	Task vs. People Oriented	Invariable Conditions (Routinized)	Skilled Blue Collar Workers
Social workers	.402*	-.037	-.158	.044	.093
Policemen	-.024	.401*	.056	.007	.047
Janitors	.048	.031	.093	.047	.253
Peddlers	.071	.130	.176	-.084	.037
Teachers	.286*	-.048	.097	-.101	.060
Foremen	.256*	-.024	.120	-.018	-.012
Factory workers	-.029	.034	.035	.482*	.001
Hustlers	.195*	.326*	-.102	-.059	-.127
Lawyers	-.068	.595*	-.059	.022	.052
Plumbers	.006	.037	-.033	-.002	.585*
Doctors	-.043	-.002	.583*	.024	-.011
Mailmen	.313*	-.023	.064	-.042	-.021
Soldiers	.287*	-.013	.119	-.012	-.053
Truck drivers	.029	-.048	.023	.539*	.018
Construction workers	.333*	-.009	-.058	.044	.050
Supermarket clerks	-.008	.378*	.063	-.012	-.005
Bus drivers	.028	.004	.063	-.034	.447*
Store managers	.039	.004	.447*	-.013	-.047
Maids	.272*	.036	.034	.059	-.129
Unemployed	.063	.033	-.002	.378*	-.088
Writers	.415*	-.056	-.145	.058	.050
Gas station attendant	.028	.367*	.010	.003	.037
Mechanics	.019	.014	.003	.018	.534*
Accountants	-.037	-.052	.524*	.031	.050
Prostitutes	.146	.250*	.078	-.018	-.183
Gangsters	.260*	-.028	.139	-.087	-.037
Secretaries	-.005	.026	-.001	.535*	.011

NOTE: All loadings rounded to third decimal.

* High loadings

Table 3

Item Factors

Items	Genteel Upper Middle Level Job	High Level Job	Tough Physical Work	Skilled Work
Well-paid	-.138	.101	.029	.437*
Intelligent	.015	-.008	-.001	.385*
Skilled	-.008	-.047	.057	.433*
Helpful	.141	-.132	.058	.347*
Dirty	-.110	-.096	.523*	.136
Strong	.044	.072	.298*	.031
Proud of work & selves	.154	.277*	-.032	.009
Respected	.275*	.185	-.098	-.021
Brave	.254*	.162	.128	-.159
Efficient	.374*	.045	-.011	-.049
Polite	.469*	-.070	-.056	-.039
Understanding	.397*	-.035	-.033	-.009
Talented	.169	.085	.007	.117
Dedicated	.072	.291*	-.044	.106
Travel a lot	-.084	.499*	.105	-.071
Good future	-.042	.451*	-.122	.098
Good at jobs	.040	.359*	-.015	.072
Lazy	-.047	.140	.417*	-.099
Tough	.009	.197	.330*	-.091
Often in danger	.109	.045	.395*	-.129
Honest	.355*	-.126	.026	.068
On-the-ball	.259*	.049	.064	.128
Hated	.111	-.191	.350*	.119
Lot of training	.043	.068	-.012	.286*
Steady work	.007	.129	-.072	.327*

NOTE: ALL LOADINGS ROUNDED TO THIRD DECIMAL.

* High loadings

Table 4

Core Matrix

Subject Factors	Job Stimulus Factors	Item Factors 1	2	3	4
1	1	-468.91	-429.03	-379.69	-387.74
	2	-333.25	-307.25	-281.19	-280.25
	3	-315.72	-281.85	-262.43	-267.28
	4	-117.10	-103.37	- 92.00	- 88.96
	5	-248.24	-235.75	-206.57	-209.59
2	1	- 29.73*	- 25.31	- 22.23	- 30.23*
	2	- 19.66	- 21.31	- 15.06	- 18.84
	3	- 23.47	- 20.78	- 10.41	- 12.35
	4	- 5.67	- 4.26	- 1.18	- 11.13
	5	- 17.43	- 22.65	- 12.99	- 14.08
3	1	37.93*	24.34*	26.66*	26.33*
	2	19.75	17.05	24.41*	23.06*
	3	25.06*	16.22	18.20	11.15
	4	7.38	2.39	18.07	0.27
	5	15.96	7.07	20.00	10.98
4	1	17.36*	8.61	10.32	16.26*
	2	11.54	15.42*	6.12	9.45
	3	9.07	9.96	- 4.27	15.94
	4	3.76	- 7.04	4.24	9.07
	5	12.45	3.21	10.30	3.04

NOTE: All loadings rounded to second decimal.

Table 5

Discriminant Analysis on Subject-Factor Loadings (Three-Mode)

by Demographic Groups--Job Perceptions

Group Means on Original Factor Loadings

Group	Factor 1	2	3	4
White college females	-126.58	11.14	8.92	2.05
White high school & Spanish	-123.68	4.97	4.53	.38
Black high school	-136.55	.41	-2.88	-6.50
Black hardcore	-117.20	-13.70	-2.50	6.84

Scaled Vectors of Discriminant Functions

Factor	Function 1	Function 2
1	39.66	26.09
2	-76.41	32.22
3	-65.14	62.76
4	56.53	72.43
% of Variance	67.87	31.63

Group Means on Discriminant Functions

Group	Function 1	Function 2
White college females	-32.83	- 6.18
White high school and Spanish	-27.66	-10.97
Black high school	-27.40	-23.14
Black hardcore	- 9.42	-13.14

Overall F ratio = 11.58 (df = 12, 297) $p < .01$

Five descriptive item factors were obtained:

1. Genteel, upper-middle class job characteristics
2. High-level job characteristics
3. Tough physical work
4. Skilled work

(Items loading on these factors may be found in Tables 2 and 3.)

Whites tend to see genteel upper-middle level job characteristics associated with jobs characterized by variable work and task rather than people-oriented work; the blacks see less of this genteel characteristic in these two types of jobs. Whites think of the variable work jobs as higher level and of routinized jobs as lower level than do the blacks. Whites also see the variable jobs (e.g., teachers, soldiers, gangsters) as tough, dirty, etc., while blacks view them as much less so.

Whites see routinized jobs as low on all item factors. The hardcore blacks see very little touch physical work associated with any jobs, particularly in contrast to the white college girls. They (the hardcore0 see the least physical work associated with invariant jobs (truck drivers, factory workers, secretaries). Task-oriented jobs (doctor, accountant) are seen as more genteel and upper-level by the hardcore than by the college girls.

Two black points of view are reflected by subject factor four--one typical of the hardcore, and one typical of the black high school students. For the variable jobs, the hardcore see unusual amounts of genteel qualities and high skill requirements. Jobs involving cold interpersonal relations (lawyer, for example) are seen as unusually high level by the hardcore as compared to the high school students. Task-oriented jobs are seen as not

involving tough physical work and as requiring high skill by the hardcore. They also tend to see routinized jobs as lower level than do the high school students.

Discussion

The original focus of the present study was to contrast the social perceptions of a group of hardcore unemployed with several other groups. The results, however, may contain implications broader than this. The extent to which they generalize to other black samples will be explored in future research. This study is only exploratory and it must be remembered that we have employed very special samples. The high school boys were judged by school authorities to be socially maladjusted. The hardcore have had a history of job difficulties. Thus, all the blacks in this study were defined by the establishment as "problem people." The contrasting group of white middle-class girls was not judged to have such characteristics.

Table 6 summarizes the job perceptions of the black and white subjects sampled. It shows a majority black point of view which considers HIGH LEVEL TASK-ORIENTED jobs, such as doctors and accountants, as being genteel upper-middle level jobs (polite, understanding, honest, efficient); VARIABLE WORK JOBS, such as social workers and writers, as genteel, high level (travel a lot, good future), skilled (high pay, skilled) and tough (lazy, often in danger, hated).

The majority of the white subjects have a characteristic point of view about HIGH LEVEL TASK-ORIENTED jobs, which they see as tough and skilled, and about JOBS INVOLVING INVARIABLE CONDITIONS, such as truckdrivers, secretaries and factor workers, which they see as tough, high level, genteel and skilled.

In addition, the majority blacks in our samples tend to see SKILLED BLUE COLLAR jobs, such as plumbers and mechanics, as high level.

If we assume that when subjects view a job as tough this is a cue of ambivalence or rejection, we can conclude that the majority blacks in our samples are attracted to VARIABLE WORK jobs, but feel ambivalent about them; they are also attracted by HIGH LEVEL TASK-ORIENTED jobs and SKILLED BLUE COLLAR jobs, but seem uninterested in jobs with INVARIABLE CONDITIONS, or COLD INTERPERSONAL RELATIONS. By contrast the majority whites seem reasonably attracted to the jobs with INVARIABLE CONDITIONS, although they feel ambivalent about them; they are also attracted by the HIGH LEVEL TASK-ORIENTED jobs, though they feel quite ambivalent about them.

The minority blacks in our samples respect three kinds of jobs: HIGH LEVEL TASK (which they see as skilled), SKILLED BLUE COLLAR (which they see as high level and skilled) and INVARIABLE CONDITIONS (which they see as skilled, high level and genteel). The minority whites seem fascinated by the VARIABLE WORK jobs, to which they feel ambivalent, the HIGH LEVEL TASK-ORIENTED, which they see as genteel and appear to reject the COLD INTERPERSONAL RELATIONS jobs, which they see as tough.

One factor that must be remembered in interpreting these findings is that the white sample includes many females, and also lower-class whites. It is not surprising that the majority of these whites feel attracted to secretarial jobs, or to jobs in factories. However, similar samples of black high school students do not seem attracted to the factory. The ambivalence of these subjects toward the HIGH LEVEL TASK-ORIENTED jobs, such as physician, seems perfectly justified, since most of them are unlikely to develop the qualifications for such jobs.

Table 6

Summary of Job Perceptions Among Blacks and Whites

III High level Task Oriented	II Cold Inter- personal Relations	I Variable Work	V Skilled Blue Collar	IV Invariable Conditions (Routinized)	
		BLACKS			
e.g. doctors accountants	lawyers policemen	social workers writers	plumbers mechanics	truck drivers secretaries factory workers	
genteel upper		genteel, upper level job high level job skilled tough work	high level		Majority
skilled			high level skilled	skilled high level genteel	Minority
		WHITES			
tough physical skilled work				tough physical high level genteel middle skilled work	Majority
genteel	tough physical	genteel upper high level tough physical skilled			Minority

The fascination of the black majority in our samples with VARIABLE WORK jobs may be a most important finding, since it is consistent with observations that blacks do not like to get involved in routine jobs, and find punctuality and doing things by the clock disagreeable to a larger extent than do whites. The black majority's favorable viewing of the SKILLED BLUE COLLAR jobs is very promising, since these are the jobs where some reasonable social mobility might be observed in the samples studied in the present project. Once again, however, as in the role perception study, the black majority appears less reality-oriented than the black minority and the reverse is observed in the white minority (particularly if we examine reactions to the VARIABLE WORK JOBS).

The jobs with invariable conditions are the only ones that might become open to blacks with poor academic records, or a history of unemployment, yet these jobs are unattractive to the majority of these persons. Instead they are attracted to the more active, variable jobs, which may become open to only a minority of blacks. One way to meet this challenge is to explore the possibility of making more of the industrial jobs like the variable work jobs. Job enlargement is an approach that seems to hold much promise in this respect, as does the automation of factories. However, the operation of automatic factories requires persons of great responsibility and skill and there is likely to be a need for the development of special skills in the black hardcore and high school populations before they could be employed in such positions of responsibility. In the meantime, the image of the factory worker which they bring to the testing session suggests that they view the job as static and unattractive, or at most neutral.

On a broader and more theoretical level, it is desirable to discuss the comparability of the results obtained here with those of Triandis (1960). In the earlier study managers and workers reacted to jobs on semantic differentials, and the factor structure of those instruments was determined separately for the two populations. The two populations agreed in their responses, according to the criterion of similarity in factor structures, and disagreed only on the strength of association of particular semantic differential scales and particular factors. The first factor, OBJECTIVE JOB EVALUATION, was defined by the scales important, responsible, professional, etc., and seems somewhat related to the SKILLED WORK factor of the present study. The second factor was named WHITE COLLAR job and was defined by clean, indoors, soft, light, sitting, etc. There is no such factor in the present study. The third was called a VARIETY factor and appears to be related to the HIGH LEVEL job factor in the present study, though most imperfectly. The fifth was a JOB LEVEL factor, which is clearly related to the present JOB LEVEL factor. The final factor was SUBJECTIVE JOB EVALUATION which could be conceived as the obverse of the present TOUGH WORK factor. In summary, the correspondence between the factor structures obtained in previous and current work is not too high, but it seems clear enough that job level, job complexity, job variability, and subjective job evaluation are recurring themes which are likely to reappear in future research and may well constitute the basic dimensions of job perception.

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